

Message Text

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TO ALL NATO CAPITALS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

S E C R E T STATE 149860

FOL REPEAT NATO 5856 ACTION SECSTATE DTD 23 JUN.

QUOTE

S E C R E T NATO, PFOR

SUBJECT: ALLIANCE STUDY OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS

REFS: (A) STATE 143450, (B) NATO 5525

SUMMARY: AT JUNE 21 SPC MEETING ONLY FRANCE AND BELGIUM WERE NOT YET READY TO ACCEPT THE DRAFT OUTLINE (REF B) AS THE BASIS FOR PROCEEDING WITH THE ALLIANCE STUDY OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS. HOWEVER, WITH FRENCH CONCURRENCE, SPC AGREED TO BEGIN WORK PROMPTLY ON SECTIONS I. A. (I) AND (II) OF THE OUTLINE AND SEVERAL ALLIES VOLUNTEERED TO PROVIDE CONTRIBUTIONS. THE SPC WILL RECONVENE JUNE 28 TO DISCUSS PLANS FOR INITIAL CONTRIBUTIONS AND TO PREPARE A REPORT, INCORPORATING POINTS AGREED TO DATE, FOR COUNCIL APPROVAL BY THE SILENCE PROCEDURE. THUS, WITH RAPID PROGRESS ON THE OUTLINE--DESPITE FRENCH PROBLEMS--ALLIES ARE NOW STARTING TO COME TO GRIPS WITH HOW TO ALLOT AND COORDINATE INITIAL CONTRIBUTIONS. WE BELIEVE THE US CAN BEST SPUR NATO WORK IN NEXT STAGE BY STATING AREAS

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IT WILL COVER IN INITIAL CONTRIBUTIONS (SEE PARA 8) AND BY SUBMITTING AT LEAST ONE BRIEF PAPER EARLY TO SET THE STYLE, TONE, AND FORMAT FOR WORK BY OTHER ALLIES. WHILE WE CANNOT DISCOUNT THE POSSIBILITY OF PROCEDURAL HITCHES, THEUS CAN FORCE THE PACE OF NATO WORK ON THE STUDY THROUGH CONTRIBUTIONS THAT WILL FOCUS ALLIES' ATTENTION ON THE SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES WE WISH TO HIGHLIGHT.

1. SPC REACTION TO THE SUGGESTED OUTLINE (REF B) FOR THE ALLIANCE STUDY OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS WAS FAVORABLE. HOWEVER, FRENCH REP SAID THAT, BECAUSE OF BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO FRANCE, HIS AUTHORITIES HAD BEEN UNABLE TO FOCUS ON THE OUTLINE; THEREFORE, HE WAS NOT IN A POSITION TO GIVE HIS APPROVAL. HE HOPED THAT HE WOULD BE ABLE TO PROVIDE AN INSTRUCTED RESPONSE BY NEXT WEEK. BELGIAN REP SAID HE WAS ALSO NOT YET ABLE TO APPROVE THE OUTLINE. (IN SUBSEQUENT PRIVATE CONVERSATION, HE TOLD US HE HAD RESERVED HIS POSITION PENDING REVIEW OF THE EVENTUAL SHAPE OF THE ENTIRE STUDY PACKAGE.) US REP DREW FULLY ON HELPFUL GUIDANCE IN REF A AND URGED PROMPT APPROVAL OF THE FULL OUTLINE SO THAT WORK COULD PROCEED IN AN ORDERLY MANNER AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

2. FRENCH REP INDICATED HIS READINESS TO AGREE TO BEGIN WORK ON THE FIRST PART OF THE OUTLINE COVERING THE INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES STUDIES DESPITE LACK OF FORMAL APPROVAL BY PARIS. MOST SPC REPS URGED THAT WORK BEGIN PROMPTLY ON THE FIRST TWO PARTS OF THE OUTLINE, (SECTIONS I. A. (I) AND (II)). MOST REPS SAID THEIR AUTHORITIES WERE WILLING TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE STUDY AND SEVERAL TENTATIVELY VOLUNTEERED THE FOLLOWING CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FIRST PART OF THE OUTLINE (I. E., COUNTRY STUDIES): FRG PAPERS ON USSR-GDR RELATIONS, INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE GDR AND
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ON THE ATTITUDES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE GDR REGARDING BERLIN; FRANCE, SUBJECT TO CONFIRMATION, OFFERED A STUDY ON POLAND AND PERHAPS ON ONE OR TWO ECONOMIC SUBJECTS DEALING WITH THE SOVIET UNION; ITALY, A STUDY ON ROMANIA AND CONTRIBUTIONS ON YUGOSLAVIA; NETHERLANDS, A STUDY ON THE LACK OF CIVIL AND SPIRITUAL FREEDOM IN EASTERN EUROPE, WHICH MIGHT OR MIGHT NOT COVER THE SOVIET UNION. SPC REPS AGREED TO SEEK FORMAL GUIDANCE FROM THEIR CAPITALS CONCERNING STUDIES WHICH THEIR GOVERNMENTS MIGHT VOLUNTEER TO UNDERTAKE.

3. THE CHAIRMAN AGREED TO A PROPOSAL BY THE NETHERLANDS REP TO HAVE THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF PREPARE AN INVENTORY OF RECENT NATO STUDIES ON EAST-WEST MATTERS.

4. SEVERAL REPS AGAIN EXPRESSED THEIR AUTHORITIES' CONCERN REGARDING THE SECURITY OF THE ALLIANCE EAST-WEST STUDY. THE FRENCH, IN PARTICULAR, STRONGLY RECOMMENDED THAT ALL DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO THE STUDY BE CLASSIFIED AS NATO SECRET. THE CHAIRMAN AGREED THAT ALL FINAL INDIVIDUAL PAPERS AND THE FINAL STUDY WOULD BE SO CLASSIFIED. THE NORWEGIAN REP SAID HIS AUTHORITIES WANTED TO KNOW IF

PARTS OF THE STUDY MIGHT EVENTUALLY BE MADE AVAILABLE TO PARLIAMENTS AND IF AN UNCLASSIFIED VERSION MIGHT BE PREPARED FOR PUBLIC RELEASE. ALL AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE PREMATURE TO SEEK TO RESOLVE THIS QUESTION UNTIL THE STUDY WAS COMPLETED AND UNTIL HIGHER AUTHORITIES HAD ADDRESSED THE MATTER.

5. AS TO THE NATO ECONOMIC COLLOQUIUM TOPIC, US REP CONTINUED TO FAVOR EAST-WEST TRADE. HOWEVER, THE SPC CHAIRMAN, AS WELL AS MOST REPS, VOICED STRONG SUPPORT FOR ADDRESSING SOVIET ECONOMIC GROWTH. A FINAL SPC RECOMMENDATION TO THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE WAS DEFERRED AT THE REQUEST OF THE US REP. (COMMENT: WE ARE REVIEWING THIS ISSUE WITH SPC CHAIRMAN AND OTHERS TO ASSESS WHETHER OUR PREFERENCE IS SECRET)

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ENCE CAN IN SOME WAY BE ACCOMMODATED. END COMMENT)

6. THE SPC WILL RETURN TO THESE MATTERS ON JUNE 28.

7. COMMENT: WE WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS THE SPC TO ACCEPT THE OUTLINE AND SUBMIT IT FOR EARLY COUNCIL APPROVAL.

8. AS FOR INITIAL CONTRIBUTIONS, WE SUGGEST THE US MIGHT VOLUNTEER A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION ON THE SOVIET UNION AND SOVIET-EAST EUROPEAN RELATIONS LEAVING INITIAL CONTRIBUTIONS ON THE NON-SOVIET EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRY STUDIES TO BE APPORTIONED AMONG THE OTHER ALLIES. IN THIS CONNECTION, SOME ALLIES HAVE EXPRESSED INTEREST IN CONTRIBUTING STUDIES ON POLAND, EAST GERMANY AND ROMANIA. SUCH A DISTRIBUTION WOULD IN NO WAY PRECLUDE THE US FROM SUBMITTING ADDITIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS ON PARTICULAR COUNTRIES OR SUBJECT AREAS--OR OTHER ALLIES FROM PROVIDING SOME CONTRIBUTIONS IN AREAS COVERED BY THE US. SINCE THE ALLIES ARE NOW STARTING TO COME TO GRIPS WITH HOW TO ORGANIZE INITIAL CONTRIBUTIONS, WE BELIEVE THE US SHOULD PREPARE TO SUBMIT A SUBSTANTIVE PAPER, HOWEVER BRIEF, AT AN EARLY STAGE TO SERVE AS A MODEL FOR OTHERS. MORE EXTENSIVE US CONTRIBUTIONS COULD FOLLOW, SETTING THE PACE FOR OTHERS AND MAINTAINING THE MOMENTUM AND FOCUS ALREADY ESTABLISHED BY THE US DRAFT OUTLINE.

9. ONCE THE ALLIES HAVE MADE KNOWN THEIR PLANS FOR CONTRIBUTIONS, WE WILL NEED TO REVIEW THEM SYSTEMATICALLY TO ENSURE ALL THE TOPICS ARE COVERED. AS WE SEE HOW EFFECTIVELY THE SPC IS ABLE TO MAINTAIN THE COHERENCE OF THE STUDY, WE MAY WISH TO SUGGEST SOME REDRAFTING BY THE US AS THE BEST WAY TO MELD DISPARATE CONTRIBUTIONS.

10. REF A, PARA 4, REQUESTED OUR VIEWS ON POSSIBLE DIFFERENCE
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FERENCES BETWEEN THE FRANCH NATO DELEGATION AND THE QUAI
OVER DEGREE OF FRENCH COOPERATION IN EAST-WEST STUDY. WE
SEE NO INDICATIONS OF ANY SUCH DIFFERENCES, ALTHOUGH WE
EXPECT THE FRENCH WILL WANT TO MAKE SOME CHANGES IN THE
IS OUTLINE, PARTICULARLY ON THOSE PARTS DEALING WITH IM-
PLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE. HOWEVER, WE DO NOT BELIEVE
IT WOULD BE PRODUCTIVE TO MAKE A DEMARCHE TO THE FRENCH
EITHER IN PARIS OR BRUSSELS, AT LEAST UNTIL WE SEE HOW
THE FRENCH DEAL WITH THE OUTLINE AT THE NEXT SPC SESSION.

11. ACTION REQUESTED: (1) APPROVAL TO PROCEED IN THE MAN-
NER OUTLINED ABOVE, AND (2) GUIDANCE BY JUNE 28 ON TOPICS
UNDER ITEMS I. A.(I) AND (II) OF THE OUTLINE WHICH
WASHINGTON WILL UNDERTAKE TO DRAFT. STREATOR

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